Loving Las Vegas

Robert R.M. Verchick, Loyola University New Orleans

Available at: https://works.bepress.com/robert_verchick/19/
SAY WHAT YOU WANT ABOUT LAS VEGAS, but my hometown is on a roll. Celebrating its one-hundredth anniversary this year, the city has become an international symbol of spectacle, money, and fun. The Las Vegas area has been one of America's fastest growing regions for more than twenty years. The city attracts billions of dollars from the world's financial markets and millions of tourists from around the world. “In 1999, Las Vegas surpassed Mecca as the most visited city on the planet.” [FN1]

Unlike Mecca, pilgrims to Las Vegas come not to cleanse their souls, but to feed their appetites, which these days tend to involve night clubs and naughtiness. [FN2] (The city recently dumped its effort to become a multi-generational family destination.) [FN3] The allure of Las Vegas is captured in its new brilliantly successful marketing line: “What happens here, stays here.” The idea is that a tourist can blow into town, behave in an embarrassing or decadent way, and return home with no one the wiser. As it pertains to individual behavior, we can only hope much of the rhetoric is true (though tattoos are hard to erase). But at the wider level of economic and cultural influence, the statement could not be more false. At that level, what happens in Vegas does not stay in Vegas: it gradually seeps out and replicates across the American landscape.

As the city enters its second century, America now resembles Las Vegas in profound and interesting ways. Many of the city's enduring characteristics are now common in American cities, including sprawl, ballooning school districts, and the mismanagement of water and other resources. In the last two decades, the country as a whole has shifted dramatically toward a Vegas-style acceptance of sex and vulgarity in everyday life. But Las Vegas's most crucial impact on American cities involves the two things for which the city is best known: gambling and entertainment.

States and local governments are consciously imitating the Las Vegas *620 formula of a gambling-dependent economy, whether based on casinos, race tracks, lotteries, or some combination. In doing so, these jurisdictions will likely experience short-term gains in terms of economic growth and the lowering of traditional taxes. But they may eventually lose to interstate competition and inherit a weakened social fabric. Many regions of the country are also copying, consciously and unconsciously, a style of fantasy-based entertainment now manifes-
ted in everything from local stage shows to architecture to shopping. This trend is fueled by many forces, including Hollywood, Disney, and even video games. But it owes a great debt to innovations in Las Vegas resort design pioneered in the 1940s.

This article attempts to show how Las Vegas has influenced the rest of the country on matters of gambling and entertainment. It begins with a short history of the city, and then provides brief analyses of gambling and entertainment trends in the rest of the United States. As someone who was born and raised in Las Vegas, my sentiments for this city are unusually positive. But America should be careful in its quest for bigger-than-life revenues and citizen diversion. At its core, Las Vegas is a city devoted to escape and fantasy, noble enough qualities for a tourist resort in the desert, but dangerously insubstantial for the country as a whole.

I. From Adobe to Neon

Sin City began as a short-lived Mormon settlement. In the nineteenth century, the area now called Las Vegas was a patch of spring-fed meadow (Las Vegas means “the meadows”) located along a trail that connected the Salt Lake region to Los Angeles. In the spring of 1855, Mormon leader Brigham Young dispatched thirty pioneers to establish a settlement along what was then called the Old Spanish Trail. After more than a month of arduous travel, the team settled in the Las Vegas Valley and swiftly erected a small adobe fort, called Mormon Fort, which still stands just north of the city's downtown. The settlers had two charges. The first was to mine local metals for bullets and weapons to feed the Mormons' resistance to U.S. rule. The second was to win converts among the local Piaute community. Both missions failed, and for the same reason: lack of natural resources. The lead mines did not produce enough useful metal. The fort's farm did not produce enough food which led to quarrels with the Piautes, who pilfered what little was available. In just two years the settlement went bust.

Not much happened over the next fifty years—until the railroads came along. Senator William Clark, a Montana copper baron, partnered with Union Pacific to build a rail line from Montana through the Las Vegas Valley, and on to California. To secure water rights, Clark bought Mormon Fort (which had earlier been converted to a ranch) and the surrounding land. The rail project attracted hundreds of workers who settled the area. Then, as journalist Hal Cooper describes:

On the morning of May 15, 1905, more than a thousand people poured out under a furnace-like sun for the auction that would parcel out Clark's land and establish the town site he had planned with prime “downtown” lots going for eight hundred dollars or more. With that land rush, Las Vegas was formally born. Over time, the town attracted miners, rail travelers and other transients, and developed a popular red light district oiled with abundant booze and gambling. Spurred by the Progressive Movement, the legislature outlawed gambling in 1910, though some casinos continued to operate albeit with lower profiles. But a generation later, the state legislature reconsidered gambling. By the late 1920s, the state's boom-and-bust mining economy had sent Nevada into a tailspin. The Great Depression was on the horizon.
promised thousands of new workers and tourists, politicians feared visitors would stop coming after the dam's completion. In 1927, lawmakers had already sought to attract visitors by approving the country's first “quickie divorce” law. In 1931, the legislature again stacked the deck in Nevada's favor by legalizing casino gambling.

The same year, the first casino--the Pair-O-Dice--opened on Highway 91, a stretch of road that would later be known as “the Strip.” Two other western-style casinos followed. But the Strip did not become “the Strip” until mobster and entertainment visionary Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegal came to town. Siegal saw the economic potential of gambling and tourism, but he wanted to move beyond the cowboy look of existing clubs. He dreamed of resorts with faraway themes inspired by Monte Carlo, Miami, and Havana. He yearned to develop--to use his words--“[t]he goddamn biggest, fanciest gaming casino and hotel you bastards ever seen in your whole lives.” [FN6] And he did. When Siegal's Flamingo *622 Hotel and Casino opened in 1946, it quickly became the state's first world-class gambling and entertainment spectacle.

More gangsters and more hotels followed: the Desert Inn, the Sands, the Stardust, and Caesar's Palace. Neon signs and racing lights filled the sky. In 1966 came Howard Hughes, whose Summa Corporation gradually reshaped gambling into a more corporate model. By the 1980s, the mob had largely edged out by the MBAs. In 1989, Steve Wynn's Mirage resort came online, juiced up with capital from junk-bond genius Michael Milken. The $650 million project inspired a parade of mega-resorts in the ensuing years, including Treasure Island, Luxor, Mandalay Bay, Bellagio, and Steve Wynn's new $2.6 billion resort called, simply, Wynn Las Vegas.

The two themes in this story, gambling and entertainment, are epitomized by Vegas's transformation following Nevada's fateful decision to legalize gambling, and by Bugsy Siegal's garish affair with resort entertainment in Vegas. Both events forever changed Las Vegas. They are now on the way to changing the rest of America, too.

II. Big Casino

The story of gambling in Las Vegas is really a story about legal sovereignty. Gambling boomed in Vegas because, at a crucial time in the nation's history, Nevada opened its jurisdiction to gambling. With few resources and little skilled labor, state lawmakers reasoned that they had nothing else to offer America but their permissiveness. Now other states are hoping to cash in on America's gambling fever. The movement will probably have little effect on Las Vegas, which is, after all, a lion among kittens. But it has dramatically changed the way Americans spend their time and the way state and local governments raise their money.

Today forty-eight states permit legalized gambling in some form (Hawaii and Utah are the hold-outs). [FN7] Growth in casinos--prompted by Atlantic City in the 1980s--is also impressive. As of 2003, according to a survey by the American Gaming Association (AGA), commercial casinos operated in eleven states, Native American casinos operated in twenty-eight states, and racetrack-casinos operated in six states. [FN8] Commercial casinos, alone, grossed $27 billion in 2003, spinning off $4.3 *623 billion in tax receipts to state and local governments. [FN9] Those enterprises employed more than 352,000 workers and generated almost
$12 billion in wages, benefits, and tips. [FN10]

No state matches Nevada in the proportion of revenue produced from gambling (which is around 40 percent), but other states’ reliance on gambling is impressive. In addition to Nevada, nine states derive 10 percent or more of their revenue from taxes on gambling. [FN11] In an era when state and local governments are notoriously strapped for cash, gambling revenue has become America's new sugar daddy. Rhode Island's state lottery pumps money into education, medical programs, and public services. [FN12] In the Midwest, riverboat gambling helps buoy universities, veterans' programs, environmental protection, and (my favorite) gambling addiction programs. [FN13] Revenue from New Jersey's gambling resorts is used to minister to senior citizens and the disabled. [FN14]

Americans from all walks of life have become increasingly at ease with gambling, both as a pastime and as an engine of economic growth. A survey sponsored by the AGA claims that Americans, by a large majority, believe casinos bring “widespread benefits” to a region and provide tax revenue for important services. [FN15] According to the same survey, 80 percent of Americans now say that gambling is acceptable--either for themselves or for other people. [FN16] The AGA survey is hardly a neutral source, but Americans' tolerance for gambling is also manifested in their behavior. In 2003, nearly half of all adult Americans played the lottery, while more than a quarter of adult Americans visited casinos. [FN17] Indeed, it appears that Americans now visit casinos more often than they attend professional baseball games. [FN18]

What explains gambling's allure? Escape may be one answer. Players gamble to escape many things: boredom, stress, smoke-free office parks. Given the extreme popularity of gambling video games, players may also be trying to escape each other. As video gamblers stare emotionlessly at their colorful screens, they appear no more social than their kids parked at home with the Xbox. State governments, on the other hand, are trying to escape a different reality--the reality of having to provide public services to an expanding population that is increasingly tax resistant. The legalization of video slot machines allowed Delaware to cut its top personal income tax rate by nearly one-third. [FN19] South Dakota reduced its property tax by 20 percent and made up the difference with a video lottery. [FN20]

But this trend has its dangers. While Las Vegas supports itself by “shaking down” tourists, some gambling states (particularly those with lotteries) support themselves by shaking down their own residents. The effect is a more regressive form of taxation aimed at the low- to middle-class. [FN21] While the societal effects of gambling are not completely understood, it seems likely that increased dependence on a gambling economy will mean some increase in related social ills like gambling addictions, family bankruptcies, and crime. Yet many gambling jurisdictions, including Las Vegas, devote minimal resources to such problems. [FN22]

Casino states that successfully attract out-of-state gamblers have a different challenge: competition. Las Vegas became the gambling capital of the world because its home state relaxed morals restrictions beyond what other jurisdictions--local, state, or foreign--were willing to bear. Money flowed to the region with the lowest moral pressure. But now, with other
states and Indian tribes lowering their gambling restrictions, we have a classic “race to the bottom,” where states compete against one another for gamblers in their region. Delaware, for instance, attributes 70 percent of its racetrack casinos’ revenues to visitors from Pennsylvania and Maryland. [FN23] But if those states follow through with their plans to legalize slot machines, Delaware could lose $120 million annually. [FN24] Minor turf wars among Northeastern politicians hungry for gambling dollars have already begun. [FN25]

Finally, an increased reliance on casino gambling will expand the influence of global entertainment companies over state and local governments. Las Vegas has always been a “company” town, whether the city bosses were mobsters, eccentric billionaires, or international conglomerates.*625 Today, three corporations dominate the Las Vegas economy: MGM Mirage (which owns the Mirage, Treasure Island, Bellagio, and MGM Grand, among others), Hilton's Park Place Entertainment (Caesar's Palace, Las Vegas Hilton, Paris, Bally's), and Mandalay Resorts (Mandalay Bay, Luxor, Excalibur, Circus Circus). [FN26] The MGM-Hilton-Mandalay machine now owns a piece of nearly every major casino market in America, from California to New Jersey. [FN27] By linking their economies to such a powerful and concentrated group of investors, states run the risk of becoming beholden to corporate forces that may not have local interests at heart.

III. The Entertainment Capital of the World

As early as the 1940s, Bugsy Siegal seemed to understand that gambling without entertainment was an insufficient draw. He predicted that tourists would pay big money to experience fantasy, and that the most powerful fantasies were those based on places they were likely to have imagined, but unlikely to have seen. In this way, Las Vegas anticipated Disneyland, which would not begin transporting its guests to the Matterhorn or the African jungle until the late 1950s.

In the early years, Las Vegas served entertainment as a side dish to gambling. Casinos would offer Joey Bishop or Alan King as a way to attract players to the tables. Comps to shows came along with cheap buffets and free drinks. Not so today. Today Las Vegas trades in entertainment in the same way that Hollywood and Broadway do. Today's shows include international acts like U2, David Copperfield, and Elton John. [FN28] The city boasts a stable of celebrity-chef restaurants, from the likes of Wolfgang Puck and Emeril Lagasse, and some of the most elaborate shopping malls in the world. For these reasons, more than half of all revenue generated on the Strip now comes from sources other than gambling. [FN29] Entertainment in this city often has an off-balanced surreal quality, which is evident in its nightly shows and in its planning and architecture.

To appreciate this quality, and as an example of the Vegas version of entertainment, it helps to understand the work of one of the city's *626 top headliners in the 1970s, the comedian and impressionist Rich Little. Rich Little entertained presidents, international leaders, and millions of Las Vegas fans by rendering astute impressions of famous people. [FN30] He could do anyone--Frank Sinatra, Richard Nixon, Carol Channing. As a kid watching him in the Desert Inn showroom years ago, I first realized the secret to Rich Little's success as an en-
tainer. His impressions were wonderful, but they were not what you would call precisely accurate. His Richard Nixon was gloomier, more heavy-eyed than the original. His Jimmy Carter was sunnier. Even his impressions of celebrities who made their livings by going over the top—Liberace, Tom Jones, Groucho Marx—were more, well, over the top. Rich Little's Jimmy Stewart swallowed and stammered more. His Porky Pig, if you can believe it, stuttered more.

The secret to Little's success was that he knew the difference between what show business types call “impersonators” and “impressionists.” An impersonator is someone who renders accurately a likeness of an individual's voice and other physical characteristics. An impressionist is someone who delivers a slightly distorted caricature of an individual's likeness based on a mental impression that the public already has of that individual. Rich Little did not offer a copy of Richard Nixon or Jimmy Carter, but a copy of the “copy” that audience members already had in mind.

Like Rich Little, the genius of Las Vegas lies in its ability to manufacture an abundance of easily consumed, cleverly manipulated impressions of well-known people and places. When you go to see Celine Dion, you are not going to see Celine the singer, but Celine the “multisensory experience,” [FN31] surrounded by a cast of fifty-nine performers, a $95 million theater, and “the largest indoor L.E.D. screen in North America.” [FN32] Elton John has been similarly super-sized in the popular Elton John: The Red Piano, an extravaganza featuring outlandish sets, “larger-than-life blow-up body parts,” and, if you look closely, Elton John. [FN33] In addition to such re-imagined versions of live entertainers, there are also re-imagined versions of dead entertainers like Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis, Jr., and the ubiquitous Elvis Presley.

*627 Broadway has arguably followed Vegas's lead, building musical shows not out of original music or narrative, but out of the public's dated memories of popular songs (Good Vibrations, All Shook Up) or successful films (Beauty and the Beast, Chitty-Chitty Bang-Bang). New York Times critic Edward Rothstein recently bemoaned this trend, linking it directly to the Las Vegas Strip. Reviewing the musical Spamalot, a stage adaptation of the 1975 British cult film Monty Python and the Holy Grail, Rothstein wrote that the show's version of Camelot “turns out to look like the Excalibur casino in Las Vegas, complete with an illuminated roulette wheel and chorus girls ... Python's British humor has been turned into an American caricature resembling all too closely the world of hyped-up entertainment it has made its subject.” [FN34]

On a smaller scale, Vegas's success has encouraged regional “entertainment capitals” across the country, from Atlantic City to Biloxi to Branson. In some destinations, like Branson, tourists will not find gambling, but they are sure to find shows featuring Vegas-style celebrities, or at the very least, impressionists who perform as Vegas-style celebrities.

But the most interesting example of Las Vegas's “Rich Little” effect is manifested in the city's architecture and land use. Yale professor and architect Robert Venturi introduced Las Vegas's city planning to highbrow audiences in the now-classic work Learning from Las Vegas, first published in 1972. [FN35] In that book, Venturi marveled at the city’s “system of
neo-Organic or neo-Wrightian restaurant motifs,” its Vasarely-like street grids, and its fusion
of Moorish and Tudor styles. [FN36] He swooned over the eclectic landscape at Caesar's
Palace, with its Carlo Maderno fountains, Villa d'Este cypresses, and statues of Venus and
David “with slight anatomical exaggerations.” [FN37]

But that is nothing compared to what visitors see now. Today, outside the Treasure Island
Hotel, passersby can take in a seventeenth-century pirate battle with cannons, sinking ships,
and a band of seductive sea sirens. Next door, at the Mirage Hotel, a stucco volcano erupts
regularly, aided by colored lights, gas flames, and bubbling jacuzzi jets. Across the street,
there is the Venetian's Piazza San Marco, Paris's half-scale Eiffel Tower, Luxor's Pyramids at
Giza, and the entire Manhattan*628 skyline, orbited by a rollicking Coney Island rollercoast-
er. No one thinks this is real. These cartoon impressions are better than real. They are bolder
and brighter than the originals, and, at least in the case of Venice, considerably cleaner.

There is nothing wrong with fantasy and diversion, even on this mammoth scale, when
one sees it once in a while. But architecture-as-entertainment is unfolding everywhere. An ob-
vvious example once again involves casinos. While the early casinos in many states and Indian
reservations were utilitarian in design, many are becoming more whimsical and fantasy-driv-
en. According to one industry survey, over 70 percent of casino-resort designers see the na-
tional trend moving toward more capital-intensive “signature attractions” like volcanoes and
Eiffel Towers. [FN38] The trend makes sense as competition increases. For the most part, the
services that casinos provide are the same everywhere. Thus, they rely on fantasy and enter-
tainment in order to distinguish themselves.

A less obvious example of Vegas-style architecture can be found in nearly any local sub-
urb. There you will find an array of chain restaurants and stores seeking to lure customers not
by providing distinguishable products, but by providing distinguishable entertainment experi-
ences. As just one example, consider the Oak Park Mall in Overland Park, Kansas—a typical
shopping center in a typical affluent suburb. Hungry visitors routinely dine in a circle of free-
standing, theme-based restaurants on the mall property. For a pretty reasonable price, you can
feast in New Orleans (at Ruby Tuesday), in Australia (at Outback Steakhouse), or in a Texas
border town (at On the Border Mexican Grill and Cantina). [FN39] Driving along the perim-
eter streets, you will have no problem spotting the movie-set buildings; just like casinos on the
Las Vegas Strip, each structure has been placed near the curb for maximum visibility and sur-
rounded on three sides by more spacious parking. [FN40]

Inside Oak Park Mall, shoppers treat themselves to a variety of carefully constructed
“shopping experiences,” including Banana Republic, the Rainforest Café, and the Disney
Store, where they can imagine themselves browsing the markets in Central America, Brazil, or
even Disneyland. [FN41] Note that none of these establishments is meaning to *629 impersonate the real thing, be it New Orleans, Brazil, or wherever. Rather, like Rich Little, they are
rendering a caricatured impression of the original that is designed to distance the customer’s
experience from reality by yet another degree.

As with gambling, I suspect that the popularity of Vegas-style shows and architecture in-
volves the consumer’s need to escape temporarily from the workaday world. Shopping used to
do the trick. But historian Hal Rothman believes Las Vegas's entertainment culture marks a new “postmodern, postindustrial capitalism,” in which experience replaces goods as the new currency. [FN42] As he explains:

We crave experience as affirmation of ourselves; the packages of experience we buy in all its forms set us apart from one another and grant us our claim that we're unique. In an age when goods alone no longer offer true distinction, we use experience to prove that we're special, to set ourselves apart from others, to win the ultimate battle of the cocktail party by having the most interesting story to tell. [FN43]

The trouble is that our cravings for affirmation and escape are in danger of becoming insatiable. When every show and space becomes a surreal, over-the-top experience, we forget what reality is really like. I'll leave it to the philosophers to sort out the implications of this effect. But at the very least, living in a 24/7 resort mentality gets tiring. Las Vegas residents understand the problem of fantasy overload. Many locals I know rarely visit the shows and resorts anymore. In one of the city's grandest ironies, developers are now making millions selling homes in outer-ring planned communities like Green Valley or Summerlin, in which neon and nightlife are kept far away. Such developments offer a different form of “Rich Little” experience: the instant suburb posing as traditional community.

IV. Conclusion

To an extent that neither Bugsy Siegal nor the young Rich Little could have ever envisioned, Las Vegas has become a major exporter of American culture. What happened in Vegas, from the 1940s to the present, refused to stay there. The casinos morphed from gangland resorts to global corporations, controlling gambling interests across the continent and all over the world. States that once protected their citizens from intemperance and outside swindlers are now packing residents off to the racetracks. Moreover, a surreal vision of copycat entertainment and Strip architecture has become the pattern of suburban living.

*630 It is impossible to say how long the Vegas influence will last. It seems doubtful that the country can support all the gambling development plans envisioned by the states. At some point, the regressive tax structure and accompanying social ills will probably take a toll. As for fantasy entertainment, that trend seems more durable as the world's appetite for “affirmation through experience” grows.

In a tune called “Leaving Las Vegas,” singer-songwriter Sheryl Crow expresses disillusionment with Vegas's glam and glitter, but regretfully notes that “Life springs eternal/On a gaudy neon street.” [FN44] Is there any line that better encapsulates modern America? Today an increasing number of citizens and states balance their hopes on the pyramid point of gambling and entertainment. They have my hometown to thank. Sheryl Crow might be leaving Las Vegas, but the rest of us--for better or worse--are loving it.

[FNa1]. Contributing Editor of the Urban Lawyer and Gauthier--St. Martin Eminent Scholar Chair in Environmental Law, Loyola University New Orleans. I thank Colin Picker for his re-
view of an earlier draft. Send comments to verchick@loyno.edu.


[FN3]. ROTHMAN, supra note 1, at xiv.


[FN5]. COOPER, supra note 4, at 51.

[FN6]. DENTON & MORRIS, supra note 4, at 53 (quoting journalist's account of interview with Benjamin Siegal).


[FN9]. Id.

[FN10]. Id.

[FN11]. Butterfield, supra note 7. The states are Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Oregon, and West Virginia. Id.

[FN12]. Id.

[FN13]. AMERICAN GAMING ASSOCIATION, supra note 8, at 10-11, 13 (surveying data for Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri).

[FN14]. Id. at 14.

[FN15]. Id. at 24.

[FN16]. Id. at 22.

[FN17]. Id. at 19.

[FN18]. See id. at 18 (reporting that, in 2003, Americans made 310 million visits to casinos and about 107 million visits to professional baseball games).

[FN20]. Id.


[FN22]. See COOPER, supra note 4, at 202-03; ROTHMAN, supra note 1, at 92-96.

[FN23]. Butterfield, supra note 7.

[FN24]. Id.

[FN25]. Id.

[FN26]. COOPER, supra note 4, at 43-44.

[FN27]. Id. In addition, they also have holdings in Canada, South Africa, Uruguay, and Australia. Id. at 44.

[FN28]. This sampling represents some of the more recent headliners. For a sampling of the high profile headliners that are appearing in Vegas now and in the near future, visit www.vegas.com/shows (last visited May 10, 2005).


[FN30]. Rich Little still performs and now lives in Las Vegas.


[FN34]. Edward Rothstein, The Quest for Broadway and Las Vegas, N.Y. TIMES, Mar. 28, 2005, at El.


[FN36]. Id. at 34, 52-53.
[FN37]. Id. at 51-53.


[FN40]. See VENTURI ET AL., supra note 35, at 34 (examining this pattern on the Las Vegas Strip).

[FN41]. See Oak Park Mall, supra note 39.

[FN42]. ROTHMAN, supra note 1, at xiii.

[FN43]. Id.

[FN44]. Sheryl Crow, Leaving Las Vegas, on TUESDAY NIGHT MUSIC CLUB (A&M Records 1993).

END OF DOCUMENT